

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

COME-00 EB-11 LAB-06 SIL-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 RSR-01

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FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5977

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION GENEVA

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UNCLAS HELSINKI 1015

E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: ELAB, SPOP, SW, FI, XZ

SUBJ: FINLAND AND SWEDEN REACH AGREEMENT TO IMPROVE CONTROL OF
MIGRANT LABOR

REF: STOCKHOLM 1168 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY: MONTHS OF TALKS AND NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE
SWEDES AND THE FINNS RESULTED IN THE SIGNING IN STOCKHOLM ON
APRIL 11 OF AN AGREEMENT TO IMPROVE THE CONTROL OF LABOR MOVE-
MENT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE AGREEMENT, WHICH WILL COME
INTO EFFECT ON JULY 1, 1973, WAS PARTICULARLY SOUGHT BY THE
FINNS TO DIMINISH THE LARGE NET LOSS OF MANPOWER TO SWEDEN IN
RECENT YEARS. THERE WERE TWO PRINCIPAL OBSTACLES TO THE AGREE-
MENT: THE SCANDINAVIAN FREE LABOR MARKET AGREEMENT AND THE RE-
LUCTANCE OF THE SWEDES (PARTICULARLY THE EMPLOYERS) TO IMPOSE
CONTROLS ON AN EXCELLENT SOURCE OF GOOD WORKERS. CONTINUED RE-
LATIVELY HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT IN SWEDEN IN RECENT MONTHS AND AD-
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JUSTMENTS IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT TO CONFORM WITH THE FREE
LABOR MARKET HELPED TO OVERCOME THESE DIFFICULTIES. ALSO CON-

TRIBUTING WERE THE TALKS BETWEEN PRIME MINISTERS SORSA AND PALME AT THE TIME OF THIS YEAR'S NORDIC COUNCIL MEETING. THE AGREEMENT PROVIDES THAT WORKERS WISHING TO MOVE FROM ONEBAN/ SAPIR FACTIONS. DECISION ON ANY REPHRASING OF PARTY'S POLICY WAS THUS DEFERRED UNTIL DRAFTING OF ELECTION PLATFORM IN SUMMER, WHEN REAL DECISION- MAKING PROCESS WILL BE SHADED FROM PUBLIC EYE. IN ACCORDANCE WITH WISH MRS MEIR STATED AT SESSION, NO RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED AND CUSTOMARY OFFICIAL SUMMING UP WAS OMITTED. MRS MEIR EMPHASIZED THAT IF ANYONE HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT POLICY THEY WOULD HAVE AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS OPINIONS IN DRAFTING NEW PLATFORM.

2. SPEAKERS IN FINAL SESSION WERE MRS MEIR, DEFMIN DAYAN AND MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO GALILI. ACCORDING TO PRESS (EMB IS EXPECTING FULL TRANSCRIPTS ALL SPEECHES NEXT WEEK, PRIMIN REITERATED HER STAND THAT TIME FOR DRAWING MAPS HAS NOT YET COME, AND THAT AS LONG AS ARABS NOT READY TO SIT DOWN AT CONF TABLE THERE WAS NO POINT IN ISRAELIS QUARRELING OVER FINAL LINES. SHE SAID SHE DID NOT DOUBT THAT IF ARAB STATES HAD NOT PRODUCED " THREE NO'S" AT KHARTOUM IN 1967 (NO PEACE, NO RECOGNITION, NO NEGOTIATIONS) GOI WOULD HAVE BEEN READY FOR FAR- REACHING CONCESSIONS. TODAY, IN LIGHT OF PAST SIX YEARS' EXPERIENCE, ISRAEL WAS READY TO MAKE MUCH FEWER CONCESSIONS. BUT SHE ALSO SAID IF ARABS REALLY WANTED PEACE, TERRITORIES WOULD PROVIDE NO OBSTACLE. SHE FURTHER VOICED HOPE THAT ONCE SETTLEMENT WAS REACHED, ARAB POPULATION OF TERRITORIES WOULD KEEP IN MIND BENEFITS THEY HAD ENJOYED UNDER ISRAELI RULE.

3. DAYAN ACCORDING TO PRESS DID NOT AGREE THAT EXPRESSING DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON FATE OF TERRITORIES SHOULD BE HELD IN ABEYANCE UNTIL PLATFORM DRAFTING SESSIONS. HE CHALLENGED ANYONE WHO OBJECTED TO EXISTING POLICY TO COME OUT INTM OPEN AND PUT THEIR ALTERNATIVE POLICIES TO VOTE. (HE THUS CAST EBAN AND FINMIN SAPIR IN ROLE OF REBELS AGAINST GOVT POLICY, WHEN ACTUALLY EBAN AND SAPIR ARE CONCERNED PRIMARILY ABOUT DAYAN'S PRACTICES IN IMPLEMENTING THAT POLICY.) AT ONE POINT DAYAN STATED THAT IF HE WRE ACED WITH CHOICE BETWEEN ACCEPTING ONE MILLION MORE ARABS AS ISRAELI CITIZENS OR FOREGOING ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY NOW, HE WOULD OPT FOR LATTER OUT OF CONCERN FOR JEWISH NATURE OF ISRAEL, ALTHOUGH THIS CHOICE WAS NOT NOW ON AGENDA. BUT AT ANOTHER POINT HE URGED UNRESTRICTED AND ACCELERATED JEWISH SETTLEING IN WEST

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BANK; HE ALSO SAID IDF SHOULD NEVER WITHDRAW FROM ANY PLACE IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WHERE THERE ARE JEWISH SETTLEMENTS. DAYAN STATED HE HAD NEVER SUGGESTED THAT SECURE BORDERS WOULD NECESSARILY PREVENT FURTHER WARS: MOREOVER, IF TRUE PEACE WERE AVAILABLE AND IT REQUIRED CONEDING CERTAIN MILITARY LINES, DAYAN SAID HE WOULD FAVOR SUCH CONCESSIONS

BECAUSE GOOD MILITARY LINES COULD NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR GENUINE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. LATER DAYAN CRITICIZED EBAN FOR IDEA THAT ONLY ACCEPTABLE CRITERION FOR ISRAEL'S RETENTION OF SOME OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES UNDER FINAL SETTLEMENT WAS SECURITY, AND IN ALLUSION IMPLYING THAT ISRAELI DOVES HAD BEEN USING SECURITY ARGUMENT TO JUSTIFY MINIMALIST ATTITUDE ON TERRITORIAL ISSUE, DAYAN SAID IN VIEW OF RAPIDLY GROWING IMPORTANCE OF AIR POWER FOR ISRAEL'S DEFENSE, MEANINGFUL SECURITY BORDERS WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE MOUNTAINTOPS IN SINAI AND WEST BANK.

4. GALILI REITERATED HIS VIEW THAT HE CONSIDERED WEST BANK AND GAZA COAST TO EL ARISH TO BE INTEGRAL PARTS OF JEWISH HOMELAND, TO BE SETTLED AND MADE TO FLORISH AS ELEMENT IN ZIONIST DREAM. HE CALLED FOR ACCELERATED JEWISH AGRICULTURAL AND URBAN SETTLEMENT OF WEST BANK, WITH MORE ROADS BUILT AND MORE SERVICES, SUCH AS ELECTRICITY, PROVIDED. GOVT AND HISTADRUT- OWNED INDUSTRY AND LABOR PARTY ITSELF SHOULD BE ACTIVE IN ADVANCING SETTLEMENT OF AREAS.

5. DESPITE MRS MEIR'S DESIRE FOR PARTY DEBATE TO STOP WITH FINAL APRIL 12 SESSION, SAPIR-- STUNG BY DAYAN AND GALILI REMARKS AT SESSION AND UNABLE TO REPLY AT TIME -- ISSUED REBUTTAL TO PRESS APRIL 13. HE COUNTERED THEIR REFERENCES TO "HISTORICAL HOMELAND" WITH ARGUMENT THAT ANY CONCESSION NECESSARY MUST BE MADE FOR SAKE OF PRESERVING COUNTRY'S JEWISH NATURE, AS LONG AS IT DOES NOT MILITATE AGAINST SECURITY OF STATE. TO DAYAN'S CHARGE THAT HE WAS PONTIFICATING AGAINST ANNEXATION WITHOUT OFFERING ALTERNATIVE, X SAPIR SAID HIS FIRST CONCERN WAS TO PRESERVE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL AS JEWISH STATE THAT ABSORBED IMMIGRANTS AND WAS ECONOMICALLY STRONG. HE SAID HE WOULD SOON PUBLISH EXACT JEWISH- ARAB POPULATION FORECASTS FOR NEXT FEW YEARS " WHICH WILL MAKE YOU SHUDDER." HE ADDED HE WAS PLEASED WITH DAYAN'S COMMENT ABOUT BEING READY TO GIVE UP TERRITORIES RATHER THAN ACCEPT ONE MILLION ARABS.

6. COMMENT: AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, MRS MEIR SOME TIME
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BEFORE APRIL 8 OBTAINED DAYAN'S AGREEMENT TO ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY DEBATE WOULD END INCONCLUSIVELY (REFTEL. PARTY LEADERSHIP WILL PROBABLY SEE DAYAN'S EFFORT AT SESSION TO REVERSE TABLES ON OPPOSING SAPIR- ALLON CAMP AND MAKE IT APPEAR IT WAS THEY WHO SOUGHT CHANGE IN TERRITORIES POLICY, OF WHICH DAYAN NOW POSING AS DEFENDER, AS A FORM OF BACKING DOWN IN FACE OF MRS MEIR'S DESIRE TO SMOOTH OVER PARTY DIFFERENCES. ALTHOUGH DAYAN INCLUDED SOME DOVISH REMARKS IN SPEECH, HE ALSO TOOK CONTRADICTIONARY HARD LINE AT OTHER POINTS IN HIS ADDRESS, AND GAVE NO MORE IDEA OF HOW HE ENVISAGES THESE CONFLICTING IDEAS COULD BE REVOLVED ON WEST BANK (ISRAEL- JORDAN CONDOMINIUM?) THAN HE HAS IN PAST. THAT INCONCLUSIVE

ENDING OF DEBATE IS UNLIKELY TO TERMINATE PUBLIC SPARRING
BETWEEN DAYAN AND HIS OPPONENTS OVER FUTURE OF TERRITORIES
IS BORNE OUT BY SAPIR'S COUNTERATTACK IN PRESS INTERVIEW HELD
LESS THAN 12 HOURS AFTER DEBATE SESSION HAD ENDED.
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